NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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WAR & PEACE

Why 29 nations of Africa and Asia are meeting in Indonesia

By Kumar Goshal

Whatever happens, we have got
The maxim gun, and they have not.
—Old imperialist refrain.

THE most widespread revolution in history, covering half the world and still going on, will reach a milestone on April 18 when leaders of 29 Asian and African countries will sit down together in Bandoeng, Indonesia. All but one of the countries have at some time been under colonial or semi-colonial rule. It will be, wrote former Indian ambassador to China K. M. Pannikar (**The Nation**, 4/2),

> ". . . the first clear affirmation of the right of Asian and African people to an independent voice in the settlement of their own affairs."

In his March 31 address to parliament, India's Nehru warned: "Let not the West in the name of peace interfere, [for] it is not a conference opposed to Europe or America." At the conference—to which Washington, at first strongly opposed, is now resigned—political views ranging from China's socialism to the Arab countries' feudalism will be represented. Proponents of an independent foreign policy like India, Burma and Indonesia will rub elbows with such Washington echoes as Turkey, Pakistan, Thailand, the Philippines. (Turkey, once opposed to attending, was persuaded by the SEATO powers to do so, to give "the West a most effective spokesman" — **N.Y. Times**, 3/9).

THE COMMON DANGER: Despite their differences, the participants agree on certain common principles. All believe in ending colonialism and racial discrimination. While some are strongly anti-Communist, for most of them, as Pannikar pointed out,

> ". . . the immediate problem is the danger which they see of a return to the principle of Great Power protection, which appears to them to be nothing less than colonial rule under a new guise."

Most of them fear, and seek to avoid annihilation in, a possible nuclear war in which they have no stake whatever.

WHAT THEY'LL TALK ABOUT: The conference agenda will certainly include atomic weapons, colonialism, and dangers to peace. India has already asked for nuclear weapons to be discussed; Nehru is expected to propose a standstill on their production pending agreement on control and prohibition, and a special commission to study the radioactive danger from atomic tests. Ceylon has promised to raise the

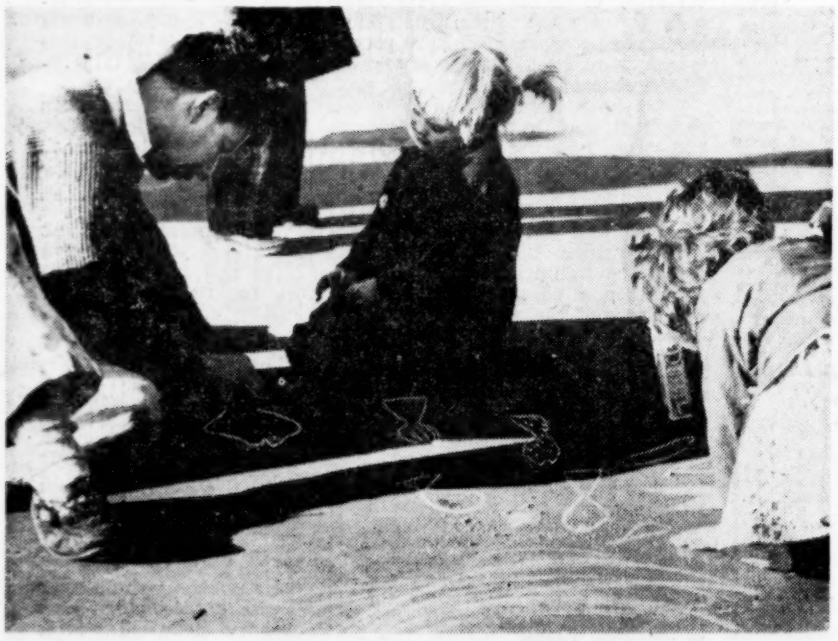
(Continued on Page 6)

The Afro-Asian conference: who's who and what's what

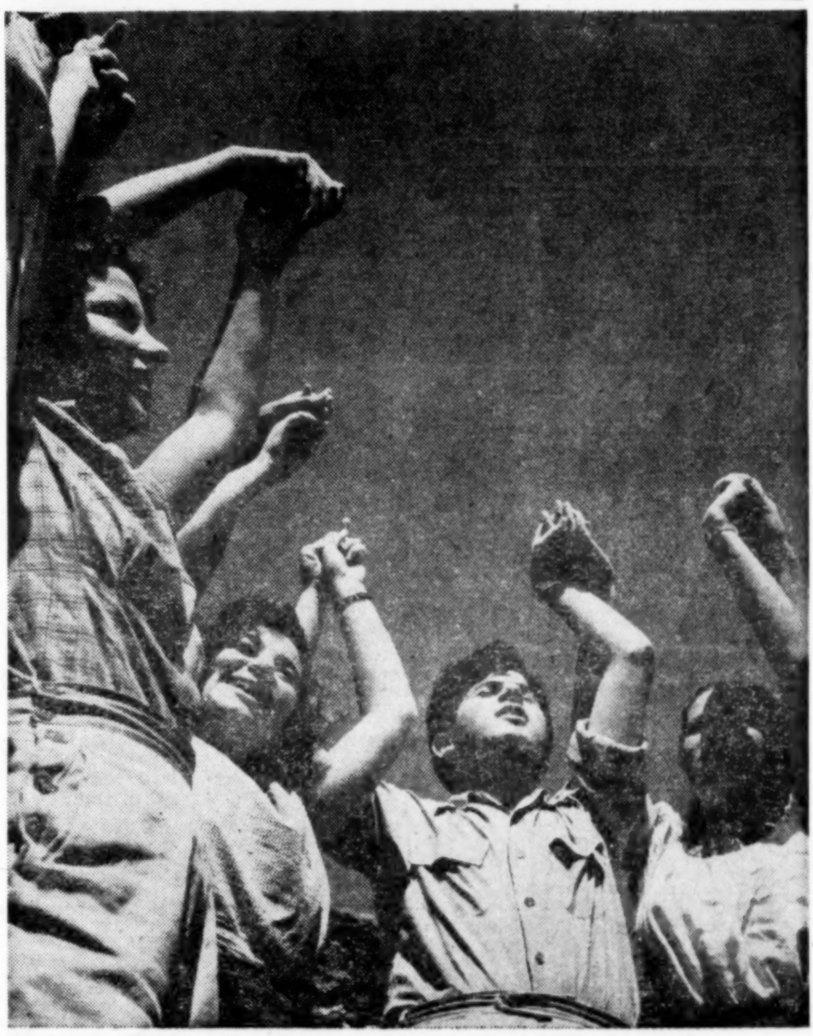
The conference was called by the Prime Ministers of Burma, Ceylon, India, Pakistan and Indonesia, meeting at Bogor, Indonesia, Dec. 28-29, 1954. Besides these five, the 25 countries invited were: Afghanistan, Cambodia, Central African Fedn., China, Egypt, Ethiopia, Gold Coast, Iran, Iraq, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Nepal, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Turkey, N. and S. Vietnam, Yemen. (The European-dominated Central African Fedn. government—**See DuBois p. 5**—refused to attend.)

The purpose of the conference was declared to be: to promote good-will and co-operation among the nations of Asia and Africa; to explore and advance their mutual as well as common interests; to consider social, economic and cultural problems, and problems of special interest to them (for example, national sovereignty, racialism, colonialism); to view their position in the world today and their potential contribution to promoting world peace and co-operation.

The first issue of the Afro-Asian Conference Bulletin, published in Bandoeng, said: ". . . There has been a slogan which ran 'Let Asians fight Asians.' That is precisely what we do not want. What we want is to co-operate with our Asian and African neighbors to live together in friendship and in peaceful co-existence, to strive hard, united in aim, for the common benefit of all."



SPRING COMES TO MANHATTAN
A street scene at the Fifth Av. entrance to Washington Sq. Park



Today the Pharaohs sit in Western capitals
The children of Israel dance in their holiday season as tension mounts at the borders. For reasons behind the trouble, see dispatch from Tel Aviv, p. 9.

THEY ALL WERE AGAINST THE LAW

Reluctant judges uphold immunity law, point way to Supreme Court overturn

REP. Kenneth B. Keating is a Republican lawyer from Rochester, N. Y., with a Harvard education. His patriotism and devotion to law and order are heavily attested to: he is a Son of the American Revolution, an American Legionnaire (with a reserve rank of brigadier general), a Shriner, Elk, Moose and Eagle. He is the man who sponsored the bill to overthrow the Fifth Amendment by forcing testimony under a grant of "immunity" from prosecution, now officially known as the Compulsory Testimony Act. When President Eisenhower signed it into law on Aug. 20, 1954, Keating said:

> "It will loosen the tongues of some reluctant witnesses. . . ."

THREE OPINIONS: Up to last week the only tongues it had loosened were those of three judges of the U. S. Court of Appeals—and they were unanimously opposed to the law. But they couldn't strike it down; reluctantly they agreed only the Supreme Court could do so.

For what it would be worth to the nine justices who will eventually rule on the law, the three judges each wrote separate opinions setting forth their own doubts of its constitutionality. Judge Jerome N. Frank, who wrote the court's opinion, pointed out that Supreme Court doctrine

> ". . . holds that the Fifth Amendment privilege against self-incrimination relates solely to testimony which might lead to defendant's prosecution for a crime."

He added:

> "Defendant asks us to modify this doctrine in the light of new circumstances which have since arisen. We are not prepared to say that this suggestion lacks all merit. But our possible views on the subject have no significance. For an inferior court like ours may not modify a Supreme Court doctrine in the absence of any indication of new doctrinal trends in its opinions. Accordingly, the argument must be addressed not to our ears but to 18 others in Washington."

A SHORT CUT: Judge Clarence Galston in his concurring opinion argued that the "immunity" law seemed to be a legislative short-cut to amending the

(Continued on Page 8)

GREET VINCENT HALLINAN AT GUARDIAN RALLY • N.Y. CITY CENTER APR. 20

THE MAIL BAG
USM

The Carney "rebuke"

CLEVELAND, O.

Ike's rebuke to Adm. Carney for warmongering looks to me like smart political and military tactics not indicative of any overwhelming love for peace. But he knows very well that in the future, when the leading munitions manufacturers feel the need for additional war material orders, the advertising-dependent newspapers and radio stations will obligingly din into the public ears another storm of war-danger propaganda, while the Administration, to capture votes, maintains a more peaceful exterior, but continues to stockpile the means of international suicide.

L. C. Davis

A Garden-full?

NEW YORK, N.Y.

You could too fill Madison Sq. Garden with Anna Louise Strong to tell us about Formosa! "Be bold, be bold, and everywhere be bold," said Walt Whitman to a foiled European revolutionary, and Walt knew what he was talking about. It's a question of knowing your own strength, knowing this new strength of A. L. S. along with some others like her on that platform. Advertise and make it free and they'll swarm in there and turn their pockets inside out for a collection. **Horace Casselberry**

Brain-washing

HARTFORD, CONN.

You wash your face and hands
To be purty.
Why not wash your brain
When its durty?

Jefferson II

"The Stubborn Editor"

WARREN, O.

I received the copy of the pamplet entitled "The Case of the Stubborn Editor," by Cedric Belfrage. Enclosed find $1 to cover cost for additional copies that I will see to it will be read by people who could be interested in the efforts to maintain certain basic rights for the American people.

Paul Rossi

An important fight

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Recent backtracking by prominent Democrats and Army officials—who opposed Sen. McCarthy last year in the Peress case—is another blow at the U.S. tradition of honorable discharge for honorable service. McCarthy has never been challenged in his contention that a GI's civilian activities, rather than his service record, should be a basis for dishonorable discharge.

Army Secy. Stevens' defense of the Fifth Amendment following Pvt. Marvin Belsky's discharge (under honorable conditions) indicates that Stevens himself does not fully accept the principle that "he who claims the Fifth Amendment is subversive." But this makes no difference if Stevens continues to allow GI's to be undesirably discharged for their legitimate political activity as civilians, and if claiming the Amendment continues to be an accusation of disloyalty against the individual soldier.

Here in California we have the case of a soldier "accused" of claiming the Fifth Amendment and of having parents believed to be "Communist sympathizers." This man, Charles H. Marshall, was discharged in defiance of a court order prohibiting it, and without official notification. He was physically thrown out of camp.

With the possible advent of UMT, the danger to the liberties of all young Americans can be measured by McCarthy's initial demand in the Peress case: "labor camps for subversives" inside the armed forces. The Veterans Civil Liberties Committee has been set up to help servicemen in the fight against the consequences of claiming the Amendment when confronted with the Loyalty Certificate, and to re-establish the Army's time-honored tradition. Los Angeles has a similar committee; we would like to see more activity around the country on this issue. The Army is on very flimsy legal and constitutional grounds, and we feel our fight will be successful.

Louis Cannon
Veterans Civil Liberties Comm,
435 DuBoce Av.

How crazy can you get dept.

Givaudan - Delawanna, Inc., maker of perfume materials, revealed yesterday another possible reason for the presence of the Seventh Fleet in the Straits of Formosa. Chiang Kai-shek's island is the world's biggest supplier of citronella oil.

—N.Y. Times, Financial & Business Sidelights of the Day, Feb. 25.

One-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: H. Fries, New York City.

Whittaker's fables

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Wouldn't it be poetic justice if Whittaker Chambers were now to recant (which he can and should do) and wrote his sequel to Witness? The title False Witness has already been used by Matusow, but why not Cardboard Witness, or Witness a la Carte? If he has mellowed he might call it Adventures in Witnessing, False and Otherwise. **A. E.**

Advertisers note!

PALMYRA, ILL.

A while back you printed a letter of mine in which I asked for the name of a good progressive farm paper. As a result I've had letters from all over the country and many kind readers sent me sample copies of their own favorite papers, both farm and otherwise. Well, I tried to write each one a letter of thanks, but I soon saw that I couldn't even buy the stamps for so many letters.

I wish you could thank these good friends for me. I want them to know that as soon as wheat harvest rolls around, I'll have a little money again, and can order myself some good reading material.

If your advertisers get the same results as my letter did, you should not lack for advertising copy for a long time to come.

Theodor W. Noll

Too much to do yet

GLENDALE, CALIF.

The GUARDIAN was never better! Garrison had better move over, a new warrior has need of his pedestal.

(Rev.) Stephen Fritchman

Peace in the window

PAROWAN, UTAH

I placed a peace folder, put out by the No. Calif. Peace Council, in the window of my place of business (beer parlor) March 23. Some men who were drinking at the bar, who were not in sympathy with the crusade for peace data printed on the folder, in spite of my husband's protest, snatched it from the window, tore it up and declared that they would break the window if another such folder was placed there. I placed another folder there March 24 and it met with the same fate.

These men would have it appear that opposition to the Administration's foreign war policy, intervention in the political affairs of foreign nations for the preservation of Anglo-U.S. colonialism, was an act of treason. Such an act of vandalism is a threat to private ownership, free press, free speech, free expression and the freedom of political opinion guaranteed in the U.S. Constitution.

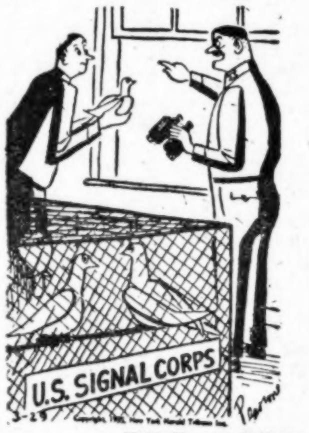
Since when was a crusade for a negotiated peace considered subversive? **Mrs. M. D. Guynan**

A love attitude

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Our top diplomatic strategy is nude of any justice or intelligence. Unless we plain suckers and pawns of these crackpot administrators wake up and act, we and our children are doomed by the formula of atomic extinction. I am resisting the conditioning of a hate neurosis. On the contrary, I am developing a positive love attitude to mankind.

Hate begets hate and love begets love. This should be the credo of our foreign and domestic policy. Let Red China have Formosa; it belongs to her. **Herman Lewis**



N.Y. Herald Tribune

"Major, our birds are defecting! They're on the windowsill of the new Secy. of Peace!"

Let's stop it BEFORE

RANSOMVILLE, N.C.

Last time we did too little and too late. Last time we stopped a war after it had started. Consequently many of our beloved brothers and sisters were cruelly maimed or killed. This time we should stop war before it starts. We should make it perfectly clear that we will have nothing to do with a new war in Europe or Asia.

Vernon Ward

The independent tradition

TACOMA, WASH.

I have just finished reading "The Case of the Stubborn Editor." It seems a very valuable contribution, and makes me realize what I have been missing by only reading the GUARDIAN at second hand when there was a copy which someone handed me. I am particularly impressed by your policy about an independent Left which we need, and which has so far suffered so much worse than even the Communist Party from the inquisition making the thought process impossible. Yet it must survive, based squarely on the independent political traditions of the people.

I keep going back to Edward Bellamy and Walter Rauschenbusch again and again. Both expected history to happen far faster than it has. Rauschenbusch points out that while nowhere in the world is industry so highly organized as here, neither is there anywhere such a tradition of political participation. Churches are involved, unions are politically oriented and people in general have a sense of owning their government, which means that we can expect more of a clash here when the lines are drawn.

John G. Gill
1st Unitarian Church

"The Unforgotten Man"

MIAMI, FLA.

Although I cannot afford it and am getting ready to be deported, nevertheless find $3 money order enclosed for the record "The Unforgotten Man." **M. S. Swiont, M.D.**

They left her face in

EL CENTRO, CALIF.

I stepped into a movie theater here and saw a cute western in which Karen Morley (ALP candidate for N.Y. Lieut-Gov. in 1954) played the heroine. She was lovely!

At the finish of the picture the cast was listed on the screen. The heroine was listed as "Karen." The name "Morley" had been mortized out. **Louis Neuwohner**

Lehman on UMT

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Anyone who has written to his Senators from New York is aware that Sen. Lehman is not only in favor of the draft, but is for permanent conscription as well.

Thomas Grabell

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the progressive newsweekly

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"The American people will not be deceived by anyone who attempts to suppress individual liberty under the pretense of patriotism."—FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

REPORT TO READERS

Let US not forget

THESE LINES ARE WRITTEN on April 12, 1955, the tenth anniversary of the death of President Roosevelt. On this same April 12 the big national story in all U.S. newspapers was the evaluation report on the effectiveness of the Salk triple anti-polio vaccine. It was presented to a gathering of the nation's top health authorities at Ann Harbor, Mich., under the auspices of the University of Michigan and the Natl. Foundation for Infantile Paralysis. Some 45,000,000 American children may now be inoculated with the vaccine this year with expectation of from 90-100% safety from paralytic poliomyelitis.

The vaccine was developed under the direction of Dr. Jonas E. Salk of the Virus Research Laboratory of the University of Pittsburgh. The research, development, field trials and evaluation were sponsored by the Natl. Foundation.

THE FORGOTTEN MAN in most of the news coverage of this giant step toward elimination of infantile paralysis was Franklin Delano Roosevelt, whose personal participation in the fight to prevent polio and to rehabilitate its victims—for all the years of his Presidency and before—gave the founding impetus to the agencies responsible for the Salk developments ten years after his death.

None would expect that the 45,000,000 American children who may be safeguarded against paralytic polio this year through the Salk vaccines could or should be made especially appreciative of FDR's founding role in the fight.

Yet one cannot avoid the conviction that the utter disregard by press and public officialdom of FDR's significance in this humane development is related, deliberately or otherwise, to the decade-long campaign to stamp out his memory and the memory of the years in which the American people moved so far forward under this leadership.

THE UNFORGOTTEN MAN, the LP record of the Roosevelt years which we of the GUARDIAN produced for this decennial of FDR's passing, is one of the very, very few efforts we know of to commemorate those years, with what we conceive to have been their true meaning for then and now. With our limited resources, we have produced 1,000 of these 30-minute records, and most of these are now in circulation among GUARDIAN readers and in some book and record shops. **(See p. 9.)**

We have been awaiting comment on the record from its recipients, and in this morning's mail got a most significant one—from Pete Seeger, whose five-string banjo and folk-singing voice were for so many people a dominant theme of the New Deal years.

"Beautiful!" Pete writes.

We think you will agree. We think you will agree, too, that by this means and by all means, we can and must bring alive again the significance and vitality of FDR and the New Deal years, for a peaceful, productive future for the children of America and the world.

—THE EDITORS

Our new look

Cheers (especially from our senior readers) resounded last week over the clear, clean look of the April 11 issue of the GUARDIAN. The reason: we are printing on a newer press which provides a sharper impression both for type and pictures. Throw away those magnifying glasses, friends.

News is breaking fast these days!

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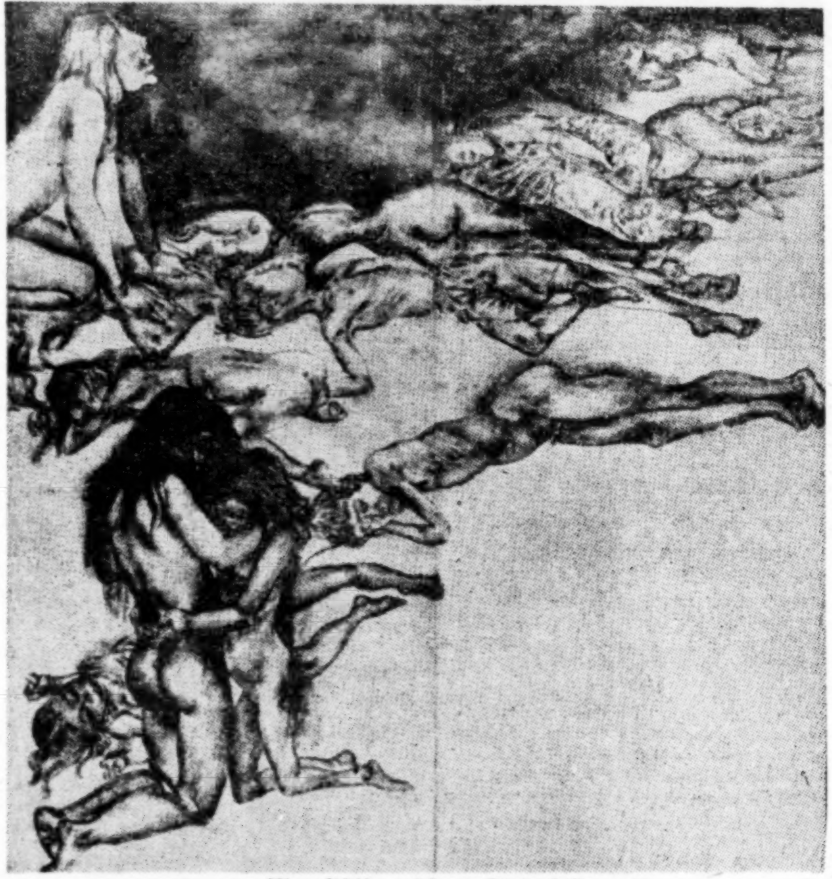
WHAT THE H-BOMB WILL DO TO US—II

Atomic war: suicide for the living and murder for innocent posterity

By Philip Morrison
Nuclear physicist, Ithaca, N.Y.



The "Hiroshima Panels"

In 1951 two Japanese artists, Iri Maruki and his wife Toshiko Akamatsu, began work on ten Indian-ink-on-rice-paper "Hiroshima Panels" as their protest against the horror of the A-bomb; they have completed six (above, a section of one). Most of the figures are women and children, suggesting that these constitute most of the victims of atomic warfare. All are shown naked, "increasing," as the London **News Chronicle** art critic wrote, "the effect of absolute defenselessness and at the same time lessening national differences." Last month a young Danish school-teacher, Martin Thomhav, brought the completed panels to Britain to be exhibited first in war-blitzed Coventry, then in London at the College of Preceptors, under sponsorship of Artists for Peace. Denis Mathews, secy. of the Contemporary Art Society, called the panels "a great work of art" comparable with Goya's "Horrors of War." Thomhav was ordered out of Britain by the government on the day the exhibition opened. To reporters asking $64 questions as he left, he said: "I am not here as a representative of any political party—merely as a messenger. The Home Office told me I had better leave without fuss as they did not want to take stronger measures."

JUST a year ago I wrote for the GUARDIAN an account of what one hydrogen bomb of the Bikini size would mean in death and havoc if exploded over a city. That early account still stands, with little change. The blackened landscape, the caved-in houses, the havoc of brick, glass, and steel: all these effects are confirmed in the dry official tone of the Atomic Energy Commission. And all this will come from a single bomb, to the homes and shops of a whole county, to a London or a New York or a Moscow, with a fringe of quick death even to the suburbs 20 miles away.

One point more has become clear, even through the less than candid—sometimes wholly misleading—press statements of Admiral Strauss. What last April I mentioned as only a possibility is all but confirmed: the H-bombs of Bikini type are "rigged," producing a large fraction of their energy through the use of uranium, which vastly increases the radioactive danger. So the "practical" thermonuclear weapons are in fact terrible sources of the deadly fall-out.

DEATH DOWN THE WIND: It is about as far from New York to Boston or Baltimore as from Bikini to Rongerik. Yet there the few hundred Marshallese received a heavy dose of fall-out. Strauss visited them a few weeks afterward and reported them "very well," but the latest AEC official report is pleased that the skin lesions have all healed by now, and the dead hair been replaced. What the ultimate effect will be is not certain. The tuna trawler crew, half as far away, suffered so far one death out of 23 men.

Down the wind, for a distance depending on weather, on the height of the explosion, on the nature of the land or water over which the explosion occurs, a thermonuclear bomb will spread its fall-out. A whole state—the AEC used the measure of New Jersey—will be heavily contaminated. In that area survival will be possible underground alone. Fast, sure action may get you through the contaminated area without immediate danger, if you wait a day or two, and then move by auto or train.

AFTERMATH: But for the unready or the untrained, the mass of people, death is likely. Radiation sickness is roughly of three kinds: an acute and irresistible three-dimensional sunburn, killing in a day or so, for those nearest the blast; for the middle distance, a couple of counties away, a week or two of a febrile and consuming disease; for those who moved a little too slowly, or unluckily into a hot patch, or children, or for those at the edge of the stain, a slow wasting misery for a month or two. Treatment may help many, if it is available to the millions. Those heavily exposed would outnumber the hospital beds of the U.S. by some eight or ten to one; it is not likely that their treatment would be adequate—as it could not be, either, for those whom I saw in Hiroshima lying along the railway platform, dying a month after the explosion.

And for those who get away or find themselves a snug cellar, and who do not feel the fall-out of another bomb, what then? Their homes and their land are now toxic, invisibly poisoning men, cattle, the very beasts of the field. Not many will have escaped a dose of radiation, which, though it may have no felt effect on most people, may yet bring terrible troubles.

In a million people, there will be found some 5,000 women in the early months of pregnancy. These may be saved by a wide margin, and yet the delicate, fast-growing foetus within each of them can suffer heavy damage, and find its term only dead or worse, without proper development of mind or body.

Things every lunatic ought to know

Use of flood control channels as air raid shelters has been suggested by County Supervisor John Anson Ford. He proposed that the director of civil defense be asked to seek cooperation of the flood control engineer and to determine the feasibility of such underground shelters.

Ford was asked by Supervisor Kenneth Hahn what would happen in the event of a heavy rain. "In that case," Ford said, "you would either burn or drown."
—Hollywood (Calif.) **Advertiser**, Mar. 31.

A POISONED WORLD: The years will pass, and the deadly leukemia will come to many more. Even after decades, the specks spread by the explosion by the bushel—of which a single, pinhead-size speck can be fatal—will claim their victims by tumor of lung or of bone.

That is not all. The genetic material of mankind will have been heavily exposed. A few hydrogen bombs will contaminate the air and the ground of a land like Britain, or a region like our northeast, so much that the whole population will exceed that steady natural background by an amount no man can say will not bring disaster to posterity. A few hundred such bombs will contaminate the whole northern hemisphere so much that the same danger will face the descendants of neutral and belligerent alike, alike the victor and the vanquished. And a few hundred such bombs now exist, and more, in the great secret arsenals of the powers.

"TO RISK THE END": Here seems to lie the danger, more in atomic war than in even the frightening tests. Any war is dread, but atomic war is beyond policy. It is suicide for the living who wage it, or indeed murder for their innocent posterity. To risk such a catastrophe, even beginning with mere "tactical" bombs of "precision"—which contaminate only a few square miles—is not tolerable.

Not to press for a negotiated settlement is in the age of the thermonuclear bomb to risk the end of whole nations, and to leave the world to those peoples lucky enough to live in a hemisphere foreign to the combatants—if one exists.

FIGHT TO FREE BRADEN GOES ON

Kentucky trials put off pending ruling on Nelson case and state sedition laws

TRIALS in the Louisville, Ky., "sedition" case were postponed last week to Nov. 16 or later, and defendant I. O. Ford finally was freed in $3,000 bail. Criminal Court Judge L. R. Curtis put off the trials to await a decision, expected in the U.S. Supreme Court next fall, on the validity of state sedition laws in the Steve Nelson case. The seven Louisville defendants had been charged with "sedition" or "conspiracy to advocate" it following their defense of Negro Andrew Wade's right to live in a "white" neighborhood.

Nelson, a Communist leader, was convicted in July, 1952, under a 36-year-old Pennsylvania sedition law, fined $10,000 and sentenced to 20 years in prison. The Pennsylvania Supreme Court overturned that finding. The ground was that, to preserve civil liberties guaranteed in the U.S. Constitution, prosecution of sedition is the job of the federal not state governments. Last fall, Pennsylvania's lame-duck Republican attorney-general, as an individual, appealed this ruling to the U.S. Supreme Court (GUARDIAN, 12/20/54).

BRADEN STILL IN JAIL: The Louisville trials, under an equally archaic law, have been moved up for Mrs. Anne Braden, Vernon Bown, Ford, Lewis Lubka, Louise Gilbert and Larue Spiker. When Judge Curtis reduced Ford's $10,000 bail to $3,000, April 6, after seven months in jail, Ford became the last to be freed on bond before trial.

But although the state had officially recognized that the law is in question, the first of the seven victims, newspaperman Carl Braden, remains in La Grange reformatory, unable to raise the $40,000 appeal bond set for him. After a trial featuring nine FBI informers and plants (one of whom knew Braden) he was convicted of "conspiracy to advocate sedition," sentenced to 15 years, fined $5,000. He and his wife Anne sold the house in the lily-white Louisville suburb to Wade. The Emergency Civil Liberties Comm. (421 7th Av. N.Y. 1, N.Y.) which has been helping raise bond for the defendants, said it had prospects for $24,000 of the $40,000.

Quoting the Eighth Amendment prohibiting excessive bail, the Louisville **Courier-Journal** said editorially:

> "Since reason has begun to come back into the general attitude toward the indictments there is hope it may be extended [to the case of Carl Braden]."

His applications for reduced bail have already been refused four times, but lawyers were continuing them.

BOWN'S STATUS: Bown will not be tried on his bombing indictment at present, Commonwealth Atty. A. Scott Hamilton said, because the penalty on that charge is less than the 15-year provision on the sedition indictment. Bown, a truckdriver who helped Wade guard his house after Wade had received KKK-type threats, is charged with setting the bomb that destroyed part of Wade's house. If Bown were tried for the bombing before the sedition charge it would be "double jeopardy," the prosecutor said.

On the trial postponements, Hamilton said he did not believe it "necessary or desirable to incur further large expenditures" in prosecuting the other cases until the sedition law's status was clarified.

HAMILTON SLAPPED DOWN: The decision may have stemmed from the increasing protest over Hamilton's activities. Prosecutor and chief witch-hunter in the case, he was vigorously rebuked by members of the Kentucky Bar Assn. March 31 at the group's annual convention.

Hamilton told the panel the Fifth Amendment, and its equivalent in Section 11 of the Kentucky Constitution, ought to be amended to remove the self-incrimination privilege because:

> "The very fact that a man claims the privilege indicates he is guilty."

Attorney Fritz Krueger of Somerset countered: "I don't agree with that. . . . And I don't believe anyone else in this room does either." The Louisville **Courier-Journal** reported: "A wave of applause swept the room." No one rose to defend Hamilton.

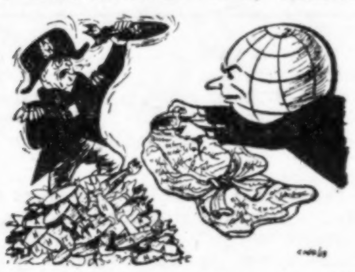
PRIVATE PROPERTY PRESERVED

Military hails 'nerve gas'—it murders people only

By Lawrence Emery

TO SOME military minds, there is a better way of exterminating people in mass quantities than by A- and H-bombs. A "nerve gas" now being stockpiled in this country kills definitively but doesn't destroy property. The Denver **Post** explained a year ago that its

> ". . . potential military value is greater, in some respects, than even the atomic weapons. Using it under the most favorable wind, weather and saturation conditions, an invader can wipe out life in a city and take it over intact—its industries, utilities, transportation and power plants ready to be used again in a few hours, instead of being ruined and radioactive."



Canadian Jewish Weekly, Toronto
STRAITJACKET

The gas, sometimes known as GB (German nerve gas, type B), was developed by Hitler's scientists toward the end of World War II. Reports that the Red Army captured the German plant, dismantled it and shipped it to Russia have not been verified, but in March, '54, the **Rocky Mountain News** did verify that the gas is being made and stored at the Rocky Mountain Arsenal near Denver. Army officials are understandably reluctant to talk about such things, but Lt. Col. S. J. Efnor, the arsenal's deputy commanding officer, confirmed the story. He had to: Denverites were uneasy at the disclosures. Said Efnor:

> "We want to assure everyone in the area there is no possibility of any danger to the civilian population in Denver. The facts about nerve gas do not justify the horror weapon name so often used to describe it. It can be a highly effective and potent military weapon when used under the proper conditions."

ONE BREATH, ONE DROP: The N.Y. **Times** story which quoted the colonel reported that one breath of the gas can cause death in four minutes and that in liquid form one drop on the skin kills even faster. It offered this description of the effect:

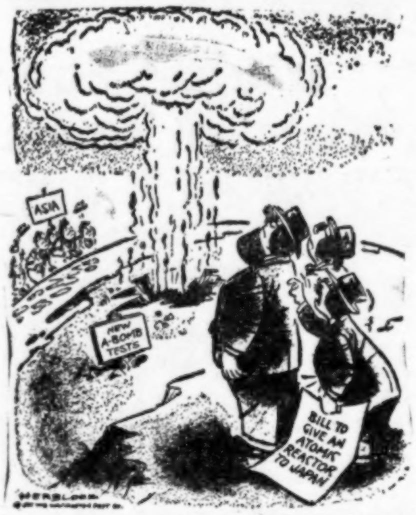
> "The junctions of nerves and muscles would be paralyzed. There would be a sensation of great weight on the chest, pain, then choking and death as the brain's message commanding the heart to beat was blocked from the heart muscles."

The story added:

> "The arsenal produces this weapon 24 hours a day, seven days a week."

The potency of the weapon is increased by the difficulty of detecting its presence: in gas form it is colorless, odorless, tasteless.

"TOP PRIORITY": Production of nerve gas in the U.S. was originally shrouded in almost as much secrecy as was the development of the A-bomb itself. It was only in July of 1953 that **Chemical & Engineering News**, a technical journal published by the American Chemical Society, was able to report that raw material for the gas was being produced in a $50,000,000 Chemical Corps plant at Muscle Shoals, Ala. The journal quoted Maj. Gen. William M. Creasy, chief chemical officer of the Army, as saying that "because of the tremendous potential of this new war gas . . . top priority was assigned to the project . . . by the Dept. of Defense in late 1950." The plant was completed in 1953. The journal's report added:


ASIA
NEW A-BOMB TESTS
BILL TO GIVE AN ATOMIC REACTOR TO JAPAN
HERBLOCK

Herblock in Washington Post

> "In a speech at Pine Bluff, Ark., Creasy said the arsenal located there was definitely not a storehouse or manufacturing center for nerve gases. Pine Bluff's sole function is the preparation and storage of biological warfare agents."

If this was to reassure the local populace, it seems the wrong thing to have said; "biological agents" is a euphemism for germ and bacteriological weapons. From another source it has recently been reported:

> "Years of research have convinced the Army Chemical Warfare service that the most suitable germs for military use would be those long-familiar diseases such as typhus, cholera, smallpox or pneumonic plague."

UP-TO-DATE: By September, 1953, the **Chemical & Engineering News** was able to report that the Rocky Mountain Arsenal nerve-gas installation "now consists of seven primary buildings of steel frame and poured concrete. They were built at a total cost of more than $50,000,000 on a tract of 310 acres." The main building where the chemicals are mixed is a huge, windowless affair said to be the largest poured concrete structure in the country. At this installation nerve gas is packed in liquid form in finished weapons ready for use. The journal described the process:

> "The gas is loaded into munitions by specially designed machines which fill, cap, seal, wash, dry, and inspect the containers, all by automatic control from remote distances."

The journal said the emphasis is on safety ("as the Army puts it, it has safety gadgets to protect the safety gadgets") but the same journal itself reported earlier:

> "At least 120 workers at the Army's three nerve gas installations have suffered the effects of nerve gas. As far as is known, all have suffered only mild exposure and have recovered without permanent injury."

BLURRED VISION: Quoting two Army medical officers who studied the cases, the journal said even a "mild dose" produced "tightness in the chest, blurred vision, nausea, headaches, cramps, twitchings, and difficulty in breathing." Affected workers reported that while recovering they suffered nightmares, anxiety and jitters and were prone to make reckless decisions such as taking wild chances while driving.

While all this was known for months in technical circles, it was not until October, 1953, that the armed services officially acknowledged the existence of nerve gas. In an Army and Air Force manual issued that month soldiers were warned that survival against the gas depends upon speedy action. At first symptom they were advised to give an alarm, don gas mask, and inject themselves with atropine, a fairly effective antidote if administered in time. But the manual pointed out that a gas mask was limited protection because GB can enter the body either as a liquid or a gas through the eyes, nose, mouth and pores of the skin; the gas can seep readily through ordinary clothing.

Many scientists who have helped produce the new horror weapons, or know of their potency, find themselves grappling confusedly with their own human instincts, as revealed in this letter published in **Chemical & Engineering News** Sept. 23:

> ". . . If we have to make war on these people [Russia and its allies], it should be possible, within a reasonable length of time through use of chemical and biological agents, to reduce the level of nutrition [by poisoning food sources] to a point where the will to fight is gone. When this stage is reached surrender could reasonably be expected. . . . It has been shown repeatedly that prolonged periods of hunger sap the vitality to a point where people are indifferent even to slavery and cruelty. However, under such conditions the people have a chance of survival and they can be returned to useful status. Surely this is more humane than disintegrating them with H-bombs."

For most, the problem is less how to be humane than how to stay human.

FINDS 'HUMANE' WAR WEAPON —POISON GAS

CHICAGO TRIBUNE, April 2, 1955

WHOOPS!

OKLAHOMA CITY. (UP)—Oklahoma hunters were warned Saturday not to shoot at any white bird with black wing tips, because 21 whooping cranes—sole survivors of the species—are expected to pass through the state in the next two weeks.

Houston (Tex.) **Post**, April 4

•

Dear Editor:

The way it looks now, the whooping cranes ought to be worrying over whether man is going to be extinct.

Yours faithfully,
Circleville. H. B. FOX

—Houston (Tex.) **Post**, April 5

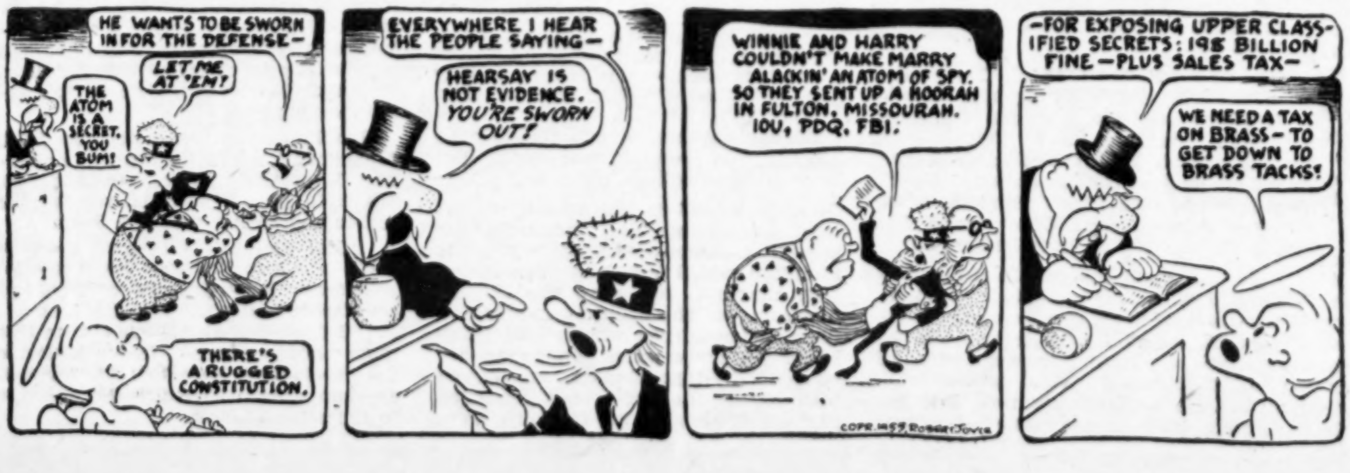
Milestones

The heavy jet bomber shown to foreign military observers last May in Moscow . . . destroyed illusions about Western air superiority. . . . An article from the German weekly, **Der Spiegel**, gives some interesting facts. While the Russian plane is similar in many ways to the U.S. B-52, being about the same size and weight, it is propelled by only four jet engines instead of the eight of the B-52. This means that the Soviet engines have twice the thrust of the Pratt and Whitney J-57 engines. Jet engines of such strength have not even been put on the drawing boards in the U.S. Four jet engines consume in combination 25% less fuel than eight; ocnsequently, the payload and radius of action of the Soviet bomber exceeds that of the B-52. General Twining, U.S. Air Force, is quoted as saying that the May Day demonstrations were a more important milestone than the knowledge of the first Soviet atom bomb explosion. The American answer to the Soviet jet bomber was the announcement of a supersonic bomber, the B-58, in which essential advances have been made.

—Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, March, 1955.

THE GUARDIAN ANGEL

Story with a point


HE WANTS TO BE SWORN IN FOR THE DEFENSE—
LET ME AT 'EM!
THE ATOM IS A SECRET, YOU BUM!
THERE'S A RUGGED CONSTITUTION.
EVERYWHERE I HEAR THE PEOPLE SAYING—
HEARSAY IS NOT EVIDENCE. YOU'RE SWORN OUT!
WINNIE AND HARRY COULDN'T MAKE MARRY ALACKIN' AN ATOM OF SPY. SO THEY SENT UP A HOORAH IN FULTON, MISSOURAH. IOU, PDQ, FBI.
—FOR EXPOSING UPPER CLASSIFIED SECRETS: 19$ BILLION FINE—PLUS SALES TAX—
WE NEED A TAX ON BRASS—TO GET DOWN TO BRASS TACKS!
COPR 1955 ROBERT JOYCE

In memoriam: the Warsaw uprising

The gratitude of decent Americans is once again due to the monthly **Jewish Life** (22 E. 17th St., N. Y. C. 3; 25c, $2.50 a year) for commemorating in its April issue the Warsaw Ghetto uprising of 1943—the historic and terrible epic of human resistance which most U.S. Jewish organizations have long since chosen to forget.

As Dulles and Eisenhower, interchanging quips, signed the treaty to rearm W. Germany under the same generals who helped slaughter six million Jews a decade ago, **Jewish Life** declared: "The last word has not been said. The common people of the world will have that last word." Stories of the uprising hitherto unpublished here make this issue of **Jewish Life** a source of pride to Jews, moving and memorable to all.

FARM

NFU seeks to halt thriving Iowa FU; farm crisis worse

BACK in 1948 Fred Stover, president of the Iowa Farmers Union, led a successful fight against the Natl. Farmers Union's endorsement of the principle of sliding-scale price supports for farm products (since enacted into law by the Eisenhower Administration). Two years later Stover, again in opposition to NFU top leaders, became a national figure as a leading spokesman against the war in Korea.

For these sins Stover had to be punished by an NFU leadership wedded to the Truman Democrats. In March, 1954, his state organization was excommunicated on the ground that "Iowa farmers will not join Farmers Union in that state as it is presently constituted."

The expulsion created many legal and organizational obstacles for the IFU, but Iowa farmers apparently kept on joining it. The latest issue of its publication reports that new locals have been organized recently in two counties; in four other communities organizing meetings are scheduled.

"UNFAIR": In mid-February this year the national office sent its general counsel, Charles Brannan, who was Harry Truman's Secy. of Agriculture, into Iowa to file a court suit to prohibit Stover's organization from using the name "Farmers Union" in any way. The suit charges the IFU with "unfair competition." Remembering the original charge that farmers would not join the state organization as "presently constituted," the organization's paper says:

> "IFU officials ask that if that analysis was correct, why the suit? Why the complaint about competition? If Iowa farmers won't join, there can be no competition, and Patton [NFU president] doesn't want the present regular FU members, as they are, to his mind, quite unmanageable and too independent."

An editorial said:

> "Our main objective, our chief concern is not whether we are in or out of the Natl. Farmers Union; not whether we send dues to Denver, but whether we make progress towards our goal of security on the land for the farm families which can be assured only by our program of Peace and Parity. It is, of course, tragic that we must now give time, attention and money to protect our right to strive for these goals."

The paper also asked:

> "Iowa members would like to have it explained to them how this action [the court suit] can help the price of hogs, poultry and dairy products, how it can get us farm legislation and stop [Secy. of Agriculture] Benson's sliding scale from eliminating several million farmers. . . . Are the same elements in the NFU, who seven years ago tried to deliver the organization to the sliding scale forces, today preparing another major sell-out? Are these elements in NFU trying to 'get rid' of the Iowa Farmers Union first in order to guarantee success of another full parity sell-out?"

ROCK-A-BYE: While the NFU leadership was harassing the Iowa organization, the U. S. farm crisis was getting deeper and more ominous. It was getting little press publicity, but many leaders were frankly worried. Government figures were alarming:

- The average of farm prices is down 22% since February, 1951.
- Net farm income for 1954 was 28% below 1947, 10% below 1953, is still dropping with no upturn in sight for this year.
- Farmers' purchasing power in terms of 1935-39 dollars is at its lowest point since 1940.

A recent survey by the Minnesota Farmers Union turned up a startling finding: if the owners of 221 farms studied had sold their holdings and invested the proceeds at 5% interest, they could have sat in a rocking-chair and made more money than they did farming their land. Average net income for the group amounted to $1,736 for the year, or 31c an hour. Average size of the farm was 22 acres, average capital investment $37,905.

"ELIMINATION" GOAL: The family-sized farm is in danger of going broke, and when the farmer goes broke the entire economy goes bust. The Madison (Wis.) **Capital Times** early this month pointed out that the eventual goal of Secy. Benson and the Eisenhower big-business Administration is to "eliminate" up to 3,000,000 of what it calls "marginal farmers," and warned:

> "They now appear to be within reach of their goal and they are driving for it even if it means forcing the nation into another disastrous depression."

The farm crisis will be up for Congressional attention when the present Easter recess ends. The Benson forces seem confident of preserving their present program, but progressive farm organizations—with the solid and active support of the labor movement—**are prepared to put up a hot fight.**

AFRICA: THE GIANT STIRS — X

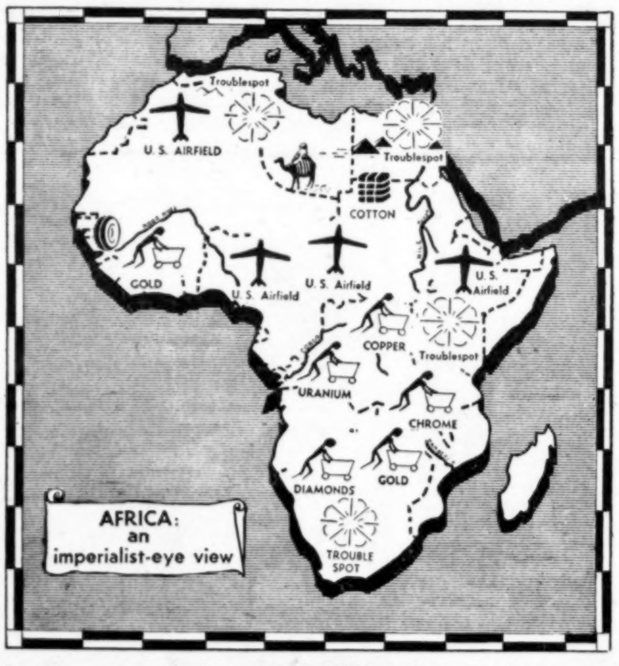
Declaration of Independence Near?

By W. E. B. DuBois

THE BRITISH QUEEN MOTHER has recently been to South Africa to remind the world how great Cecil Rhodes was. He had elements of greatness, but more than most men he started the modern world toward lying, stealing and killing as a path of modern progress. He lied Oom Paul Kruger to his death, he stole the world's greatest horde of gold and diamonds and he murdered thousands of deceived Matabele in order to establish Anglo-Saxon rulership of the world.

Africa gave tuberculous Rhodes back his health and made him a millionaire at 21. He rushed to Oxford, listened to Ruskin and hurried back to force South Africa out of the grasp of the Boers and lead British domination from the Cape to Cairo. He sowed the wind, reaped the whirlwind: white supremacy, colonial imperialism, world war.

THE LONG SLEEP: The decline of the British Empire has set in. Canada is practically American. British rule of India, Burma and Ceylon is gone; control of China has dwindled to Hong Kong; Malaya is slipping, rule of Indonesia through Holland has disappeared, and the West Indies are wriggling loose. Africa alone remains and Africa is rising from its long sleep. West Africa will be free or fighting in the next decade. Kenya is bathed in blood. South Africa is daring the world in barbaric reaction and Central Africa is doggedly pursuing the path to certain doom.



The Central African Federation was established by Great Britain in 1953 over the protest of the natives. It includes Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyassaland, larger in area than France, Spain, Portugal, Belgium and the Netherlands. It has 6½ million black Africans with no political rights and insecure land tenure, and over these 200,000 white Europeans propose to exercise complete domination.

UNCLE SAM'S THERE: There is of course "representation" of the blacks by hand-picked stooges, and the natives have indefinite rights to the soil. But this dominion is a vast investment into which British capital is putting $210,000,000 for railroads and power to use cheap labor and land free to whites for copper, cobalt, gold, cotton, tea, rubber and tobacco.

Out of two million black children of school age only 500,000 are in indifferent primary schools. Moreover, the U. S. is going to have a hand in this exploitation. Secy. of Commerce Sinclair Weeks commends the "marked progress in development of its economic resources" by the Union of South Africa, and commends our increasing South African trade which has risen from $16 million in 1939 to $105 million in 1952.

VERY DISCRIMINATING: William H. Ball, personal representative of President Eisenhower, spoke at the Rhodes centenary and gave clear notice that the British were not to regard this Federation as their own private affair. He said the U. S. desired to preserve the right of equal commercial treatment and to participate commercially and financially in the development. He said that of course the U. S. was sympathetic to national aspirations, but it was no part of the American policy "to give indiscriminate and uncritical support to nationalist movements." He added:

> "... Our concern, as it is the concern of the administering powers, is that no part of Africa falls under Soviet domination or influence. It is one of our major objectives to see that the peoples of Africa remain wedded to Western ideals."

These "Western ideals" are historically slavery, caste, poverty, ignorance and disease.

STRIKE IN COPPER: Effort is made to make the world think that the African interest is being attended to. A Rhodesian University without color discrimination will be established, to which of course no Negro can receive education enough to gain entrance. On the other hand the Negroes are not asleep. This spring the Federation is having serious trouble in its copper and tobacco industries; 40,000 African workers are striking in the copper belt, second largest copper-producing area in the world.

Despite a surface prosperity with a tremendous building boom, the N. Y. **Times** correspondent Salisbury, visiting the capital, revealed the Federation to be on a precarious economic footing. The Federation was conceived of as a compromise on Negro-white relations, avoiding the extremism of South Africa. But it is an economic unity supported by copper mining, tobacco and cheap labor.

IN TANGANYIKA: Southern Rhodesia is quite independent, but Northern Rhodesia and Nyassaland are under the British Colonial Office, which spells small difference in action. The strike in the copper mines is being made by a union of 20,000 members. They are demanding $1.50 a day, a 400% increase over what they are getting now.

In adjacent Tanganyika (not a part of the Federation), there are 7 million Negroes in a land nearly as large as France and Spain, where sisal, coffee, diamonds and gold are produced. It is adjacent to British Somaliland with 500,000 people. Here, when the representative of the UN Trusteeship Council visited last November, they received a petition from the workers protesting discrimination in the wages and housing, lack of social services and continued disfranchisement.

In Tanganyika after the war the British tried to herd the inhabitants on to plantations run by the greatest monopoly in the world on land seized from the natives. The scheme failed so completely that Britain now does not even mention it.

"WE'LL BE FREE": One cannot talk of Central Africa and Tanganyika without remembering what has been said of Kenya and Uganda and the Sudan, to the north, and Portuguese Africa to the southeast and southwest.

In Angola and Mozambique, with their 10 million Negroes, is the labor reservoir for the Rhodesias and South Africa, and a nominal recognition of native, mulatto and Portugese equality, together with an actual exploitation on the lowest scale. A virtual slave trade supplies the need of Rhodesian and South African exploiters.

The end of this disgrace to modern civilization may not be in sight but it is in hearing. At the time that Asia and Africa meet in Indonesia there may come the following declaration of independence from black Africa:

> **The Peoples of Africa, black and white, brown and yellow, have a right to Freedom and Self-Government, to Food and Shelter, Education and Health.**
>
> **We hereby warn the world that no longer can Africa be regarded as pawn, slave or property of Europeans, Americans or any other people.**
>
> **Africa is for the Africans: its Land and Labor; its natural wealth and resources; its mountains, lakes and rivers; its cultures and its Soul.**
>
> **Hereafter it will no longer be ruled by Might nor by Power; by invading armies nor police; but by the Spirit of all its Gods and the Wisdom of its Prophets.**
>
> **Men of all races are welcome to Africa if they obey its law, seek its interests and love their neighbors as themselves, doing unto others as they would that others should do to them. But the white bigots of South Africa and Kenya; the exploiters of the Rhodesias, the Congo, West, North and Southwest and Southeast Africa, are solemnly warned that they cannot win. Their doom is sealed. We will be free; we will govern ourselves for our best good. Our wealth and labor belongs to us and not to thieves at home nor abroad. Black Africa welcomes the world as equals; as masters never; we will fight this forever and curse the blaspheming Boers and the heathen liars from Hell.**
>
> **Let the white world keep its missionaries at home to teach the Golden Rule to its corporate thieves. Damn the God of Slavery, Exploitation and War. Peace on Earth; no more war. The earth of Africa is for its people. Its Wealth is for the poor and not for the rich. All Hail Africa.**

(This article concludes Dr. DuBois' series.)

The Rising Tide — *by Vincent Hallinan*

The following stanzas are excerpted from an epic poem of which the author writes:

"I wrote this behind the stone and iron of the Federal Prison; it has passed no critics more severe than Butch and Kayo Hallinan. . . . You asked me to express my views: my deepest feelings are expressed in this composition because they come more from my heart than my mind. The blood of centuries of Irish rebels leaps at the valiant battle which those of my day are waging all over the world. To them and to you and the other champions of Liberty I cry our ancient slogan:

"'Slantagha gal go bragh!'" (Shining Health Forever!)

Lack of space prevents us from printing the entire poem here, but we will be happy to send any reader a copy of the entire work.

1

Across the Earth a mighty force
Is moving like an ocean tide;
Tho' bright with light its summit rears,
Its depths are dark with blood and tears,
For it has fed from all the years
Of Mankind crucified.
This is no sudden freshet flood—
The bitter waters of its waves
In pits and dungeons long have stood,
And gathered up in graves.
But now no bounds contain its course,
Whose current ranges deep and wide;
Its curling crests are desperate men
Who've broken from the slaver's pen,
And will not be denied.

2

They have no time to waste on words
Or prate about philosophies;
They've seen their famished people die,
They've heard their hungry children cry,
And there's no rhetoric can supply
Them slogans such as these.
They know that Life is in the soil;
They've brought it forth in their own pain,
And seen the product of their toil
Seized for another's gain—
The mines, the fields, the crops, the herds,
By accident of race or birth;
They will not wait to answer: "Why?"
They only know one battle cry:
"Give back the Earth! Give back the Earth!"

4

And now the mighty tide has rolled
Its surges over half the World;
Over the tyrant in his hold,
Over the traitor and his gold,
The fearful miser and the bold,
Its restless fronds have curled.
Down went the Kulak and the Czar;
The Chinese war-lord saw and fled;
Cossack nor Iron Guard could bar
The fateful measure of its tread;
The doom of ancient wrongs is tolled;
Beneath its march their walls are hurled;
It sees the star of Empire fade,
Its pride undone, its power unmade,
The flags of Empire furled.

12

Well for the World that Freedom draws
Its vital spirit from many lands!
When its favored sons betrayed their trust
And flung its standards in the dust,
They were grasped and wielded by other hands.
For the Spirit of '76 is back,
Tho' the skins of the Minute-men are black;
The dark Kikuyu wage the cause
That once enlisted Meagher's Brigade;
Monmouth's heroes still survive,
But the Molly Pitcher of Fifty-five
Is a Malay girl with a hand-grenade,
And Washington's armies march again
But his sword is carried by Ho Chi Minh.
The Old Mens' councils can turn out laws,
Build the bombers and arm the tanks,
But the fate and hopes of Mankind ride
High on the crest of the Rising Tide,
And the towering torrent has burst its banks!
However long—at whatever cost—
Here is the Battle that won't be lost!

Africa-Asia meeting

(Continued from Page 1)

issues of co-existence and economic cooperation in the Asian-African region and the deadlock over UN membership of a dozen countries.

Other subjects likely to come up are the possibility of war over Quemoy and Matsu and Formosa; Indonesia's claim to Irian (Dutch-controlled Western New Guinea); racial discrimination in S. Africa; and Burma's continuing conflict with remnants of Chiang Kai-shek's troops, now driven to the Thailand border where they "still get supplies from Thailand, send their sick to Chieng Mai for treatment, and by their position on the frontier make it difficult for the Burmese army to act against them" (**Nation, 4/2**).

INTERNAL CONFLICTS: There will be members with conflicts among themselves, such as India and Pakistan over the status of Kashmir and N. and S. Vietnam over unity of their truncated country. There may be some airing of U.S. involvement in both these conflicts.

Homer Bigart (N.Y. **Herald Tribune, 4/7**) was told by Kashmir's Health, Education & Information Minister Mohammed Sadiq that the Kashmir government had evidence which "will be released in due course" of U.S. diplomats and Adlai Stevenson trying to persuade former Premier Sheikh Abdullah in 1952-53 to dissociate Kashmir from India. From Indo-China, where the unpopular Dulles-backed Diem government is in conflict with the armed Binh Xuyen gang and the Cao Dai and Hoa Hao sects, Joseph Alsop reported (4/1) "the pointing with pride in the State Dept." when Cao Dai's Gen. The "rallied" to Diem's side for 20 million piastres. After pocketing the money, Gen. The rejoined the anti-Diem "presidium" of the sects.

SHAKY ARABS: Israel will not be represented at Bandoeng, "thanks largely to Pakistan's stubborn efforts" on behalf of fellow-Moslems from the Arab countries (**Christian Science Monitor, 1/22**). The Pakistani and Middle Eastern delegates themselves will hardly represent the will of their peoples. Pakistan's "leaky ship of state . . . shaky economically, politically and socially" (**NYT, 2/5**) has been kept afloat only by huge U.S. subsidies. Iran has pleaded for more time before joining Washington's Middle East Defense Organization because of "powerful neutralist elements in the country's public opinion" (**NYT, 3/3**). Discontent with government policy is so widespread in Turkey that pro-U.S. Premier Menderes has ben "rigorously" enforcing press gag laws; jailing newspaper editors, university professors and trade unionists; seriously threatening "political freedom and civil rights [by] a series of new decrees regulating the status of judges and civil servants" and taking control of the radio (**CSM, 2/10**).

In Iraq, 176 organizations have been suppressed; "freedom of assembly has been curtailed by new regulations."

Of these governments, **CSM** reported (1/22): "Arabs cool to Indonesia talks."

"PAWNS NO LONGER": The precedent for the Bandoeng conference was set by the Inter-Asian conference of March, 1947, in New Delhi, where Nehru told some 250 delegates from 32 countries that Asians would no longer be "petitioners in Western Courts and Chancelleries [and] used as pawns. . . ."

The present conference is a logical outcome of the Western powers' continuing attitude that they know best what is good for Asia and Africa. Afro-Asians observed that the Geneva conference was attended by the U.S., France and Britain, but not by Indo-China's neighbors Burma and Indonesia, and only indirectly by India. SEATO and MEDO are dominated by Western powers who openly coerce Asian states to join.

Bandoeng's most fruitful discussions are likely to take place not at the regular sessions but in informal talks outside the conference hall. As Pannikar has warned:

> "Clearly the conference cannot reach decisions on major policies. . . . It would not be right to judge its work merely by the resolutions it adopts or the communiques it issues. Its historic importance lies in the fact that the Asian and African leaders . . . are meeting to discuss freely the problems which affect them all, especially their right to unhampered development in political and economic spheres."

SOME OF THE CHIEF SPOKESMEN AT BANDOENG
Upper l., India's Nehru; upper r., Burma's U Nu and China's Chou En-lai; lower l., the Gold Coast's Nkrumah; lower r., the Philippines' Romulo.

The bleeding mouth

IN HER WASHINGTON COLUMN in the N.Y. **Daily News** (4/8) Ruth Montgomery said of Adm. Carney's remarks to a dinner of newspapermen:

"If the full transcript is released, it may also rock the Afro-Asian conference scheduled to convene in Bandoeng in mid-April. According to . . . shorthand notes, Carney told reporters:

"'I think we should try to bloody the Chinese nose on a local basis. We might thus avoid a general war. We need not think our allies are going to help us very much. The important thing is to convince Asia we are not kidding around, but mean to win. Nehru (India's prime minister) might object to atomic weapons, but there is no more convincing argument in the Orient than success. We will have to make a decision whether we will be influenced by non-contributing allies. I don't think the Chinese have an atomic bomb.'"

"Unquestionably the two dominant figures at the Afro-Asian conference will be Nehru and Red China's Mao Tse-tung. Both can be expected falsely to use Carney's remarks as a basis for charges that America is warmongering."

Vincent Hallinan in person at the Guardian rally, April 20, N.Y. City Center Casino, 8 p.m.

CHENNAULT HOLDS
SOVIET FORCED END

Russia's Entry Decided War
With Japan Despite Atomic
Bomb, Air General Says

N.Y. TIMES, Aug. 15, 1945

A spunky union takes on the giant Florida citrus industry

By Ione Kramer

PICKERS AT WORK IN AN ORANGE GROVE IN FLORIDA
The bags are heavy, the danger of accident great

BEHIND your breakfast orange-juice is the story of a little union fighting a giant industry for a better life for Florida's citrus workers. Celebrating its first birthday and signing up its 2,000th member last week, the United Citrus, Fruit & Vegetable Workers of America (1502 Boone Pl., Lakeland, Fla.) has taken time out to collect some facts, presented here, about the industry and the need for organization of its 100,000 workers.

Chamber of Commerce legend has it that Spanish explorers for gold brought with them to the New World gold that was oranges. But most of the gold of the citrus industry has been made since World War I (see box below.)

Biggest spurt has been since 1945—in concentrated and frozen juice, which developed out of powdered orange juice produced for the Army in World War II. Juice production grew from 225,000 gallons in '45 to 65,500,000 gallons last year, uses 69% of all the state's oranges. This shipable, storable form, which enables growers to use most of the crop without a loss, has brought the frozen vitamin C within the budgets of almost everybody but citrus workers.

Florida citrus industry

	1919	*1953-54*
Acres	50,000	474,000
Boxes	7,500,000	91,000,000
Oranges per person, United States	15	126

Today the $675 million industry produces 33% of the world's, 77% of the U.S. supply of oranges, lemons, grapefruit.

BIG, BIGGER . . . : Capital as well as juice is being concentrated. What was once primarily an industry of singly-owned groves has become big business as Northern-owned frozen juice corporations swallow up smaller grove-owners or compete them out of business. Biggest is Minute Maid, which owns 15,000 acres of groves and recently bought out Clinton Foods (Snow Crop) for $40 million. In one part of a season, the union says, concentrate processors

> ". . . could shut down their plants, throw twice the present portion of fruit on the 'fresh fruit' market and drive the grower to sell or starve."

Since concentrate plants use only 1/10 of the workers in fresh or ordinary canned fruit and juice, the trend toward them means more jobless and more competing for the same job.

PICKERS ARE THE KEY: Of 4 million workers (2 million migrant) in U.S. agricultural industries, 100,000 work in citrus, the country's greatest fruit business. The union sees the 16,000 citrus pickers as the key to organization, because if they don't pick, plants can't operate. Pickers spend winter months in Florida's three great citrus centers around Orlando, Lakeland and Sebring, and in the narrow Indian River strip along the central eastern coast. Then they work their way up the Atlantic seaboard in potatoes, fruit and vegetables through the Carolinas, New Jersey, New York to Maine.

Unorganized, always on the move, victimized by the crew bosses who contract for them, theirs is a hard life of dilapidated unsanitary shacks or tents; irregular work and no unemployment insurance; long hours without overtime for all the family when there is a job; no schools for the kids except in N.Y.

NEW PROBLEM: In recent years growers have been importing offshore (Caribbean) labor at less than domestic rates. Although protested strongly by all unions in the field, and by AFL and CIO leaders for several years, the practice continues—often as an effective union-busting device. This spring, as the season slackens, the union says offshore workers work full-time to complete their contracts, while native labor works only a day or two a week and earns from $6.56 to $19.27 a week. (In 1949 the President's Commission on Migratory Labor found the average U.S. farm migratory had 70 days of work; average migratory male farm worker's wage was $5.60 per day. Hourly rates were 42c for the South Atlantic, graduated up to 66c in New England, 90c in California.)

Many of the Negro migrants are former sharecroppers whose jobs and farms were taken over by machines. Many of the white workers were small farmers who lost their holdings and returned to the only kind of work they knew.

(A recent U.S. Agriculture Dept. survey found that this year 55,448 farm families will be displaced solely because of Dept. acreage-reducing policies. In the South acreage cuts will reduce net income of 103,603 small cotton farmers, with less than five acres and $1,000 income last year, by $100. This is 29% of the cotton farmers in Georgia and 22% in N. Carolina. Many will be unable to plant, many may join the migrants.)

NEW DRIVE: Attempts to organize citrus workers for the bargaining power they will need to get better conditions have had little permanent success. In 1947-48, CIO's Food & Tobacco Workers and AFL's Agricultural Workers Union tried to organize there, and Orange County pickers led a "citrus holiday." In 1951 many citrus pickers walked out without a union. But lack of industry-wide organization permitted only small gains, and a temporary piece-rate rise to 20c per box (now it is 17c). In Nov., 1951, when the CIO assigned the Brewery Workers to the industry, 9,500 pickers joined, but left when they were told not to strike.

How you can help

"OUR PEOPLE here are poor as Job's turkey," writes Otis Nation, "but have pride. All we want is a chance to help ourselves. Give us help to establish our union and we will take what is coming to us."

A contract has been signed with radio WSIR, Winter Haven, Fla., for three 15-minute programs a week for three months to help build the union. The cost—$150 a month—has to be raised "somehow," Nation says. Contributions for this and for general organizing may be sent to Otis Nation, 1502 Boone Pl., Lakeland, Fla.

Sparking the new UCFVWA drive is Otis Nation, a former Oklahoma miner, who says he is ¾ Irish, ¼ Indian. In 1938, as organizer for farm and cannery workers in the Mississippi Delta, he signed that state's first CIO contract. A vice-president in 1942 of the old FTA, he was a leader in all recent Florida drives. Every attempt to create a union in Florida has brought counter-efforts from the KKK, he says, relating the Dec., 1951, death by a bomb of NAACP leader Harry T. Moore to citrus organizing. UCFVWA operates on a strict non-jimcrow policy, with a leadership of nine Negroes and eight whites.

Morse action on Matsu backed

SENATORS Morse (D-Ore.) and Lehman (D-N.Y.) have introduced Senate Concurrent Resolution 21 declaring that "U.S. involvement in atomic war" with China over Quemoy and Matsu Islands—where "the U.S. under international law has no territorial rights or claims"—would subject "the U.S. to the charge of acts of aggression and involvement in a Chinese civil war." The resolution calls for evacuation of these islands under UN supervision; it asserts the U.S.'s right to defend Formosa and the Pescadores, but only "until such time as its sovereign status is determined by peaceful means."

I. F. Stone's Weekly (301 E. Capitol St., Washington 3, D.C.; 15c, lower for bulk orders) does a public service by printing the resolution's full text (4/11) with Morse's introductory speech, and the heart of Sen. Kefauver's attack two days earlier on the "war party." GUARDIAN readers are urged to circulate this widely and to wire Senate Foreign Relations Committee chairman George, demanding public hearings on the resolution.

In a letter to Eisenhower (4/2), 14 Protestant church leaders repudiated the thesis that the U.S. is "honor bound" to fight for Quemoy and Matsu or to protect Chiang from "losing face." Urging the President to "stop the current drift toward atomic war," they wrote: "Such an irresponsible policy would expose the U.S. Government and the American people before the whole world as wanton aggressors. . . . To risk world-wide atomic war for the prestige of Chiang Kai-shek would be . . . a crime of the first magnitude." The signers:

Episcopalian: Bishops Norman B. Nash of Mass. and Charles K. Gilbert of N.Y. (retd.); Rev. Guy E. Shipler, editor, **The Churchman**. **Presbyterian:** Rev. Dr. John A. Mackay, pres. Princeton Theological Seminary; Rev. Dr. Phillips P. Elliott, Brooklyn; W. Stanley Rycroft, secy. for Latin America, Board of Foreign Missions. **Baptist:** Rev. John Bradbury, editor, **Watchman-Examiner**; John C. Slemp, editor, **Missions**. **Methodist:** Bishop John Wesley Lord, Boston; Rev. J. T. Copplestone, editor, **Zions Herald**. **Universalist:** Emerson H. Lalone, editor, **Universalist Leader**. **Unitarian:** Rev. John H. Lathrop, Brooklyn. And Clarence Pickett, hon. secy., American Friends Service Comm.; Stanley I. Stuber, gen. secy., Japan Intl. Christian University Foundation.

A PRINCIPLE IS VINDICATED

Mary Jane Keeney cleared of contempt in case involving immunity of UN

ON APRIL 4, Mrs. Mary Jane Keeney, former UN Secretariat staff member was found not guilty of contempt of Congress on retrial by Judge Henry A. Schweinhaut. The decision apparently brought to an end her three-year harassment.

Persecution of Mrs. Keeney began Feb. 18, 1952, when she told the Senate Internal Security subcommittee that she was barred from answering a question—"Did anyone in the State Dept. aid you in obtaining employment with the UN?"—by the UN Charter, UN staff rules and instructions by UN officials. A month later Sen. McCarran, introducing a resolution citing her for contempt of Congress, said that its purpose was to determine whether

> ". . . a ruling of the legal division of the UN is held superior to the right of Congress to hear witnesses."

The U.S. District Court in Washington in March, 1953, found Mrs. Keeney guilty, sentencing her to a $250 fine and one year's imprisonment; the prison sentence was suspended. A Circuit Court of Appeals unanimously reversed the conviction and ordered a new trial.

"NOT TOO HIGH A PRICE": In acquitting Mrs. Keeney, Judge Schweinhaut declared:

> "I can find her guilty only if the evidence satisfies me beyond a reasonable doubt that she acted with deliberation and with the intent to . . . be in contempt of the Senate. I just don't think so and I find her not guilty."

Mrs. Keeney said:

> "Far more significant to me than any personal gratification is the vindication of the principle . . . that the UN does indeed enjoy immunity in its official acts, and its employes are indeed, as the Charter states, 'international officials, responsible to the Organization' . . .
>
> "If by defending one of the principles without which the UN cannot carry out its efforts for world peace, I have aided the Organization, even in a small way, to fulfill its great task, I count these three years of my life as not too high a price."

PROTEST MEETING HELD

Canada bars Reuben, 'Atom Hoax' author

WILLIAM A. REUBEN, GUARDIAN correspondent and author of **The Atom Spy Hoax** which exposes the Canadian spy trials of 1946 as frauds, was barred from entering Canada on April 10 to address a meeting of the Vancouver Sobell Committee.

Reaching Vancouver just before 4 p.m. after an hour's flight from Seattle, Reuben was singled out for special questioning and told to board a return flight immediately. Border officials said he was "a member of prohibited classes" under Canadian immigration law. He was refused permission to telephone the U.S. consulate or to inform his hosts of his exclusion.

The meeting Reuben was scheduled to address turned into a protest rally.

Immunity law

(Continued from Page 1)

Constitution, but left it to the highest court to decide on

> ". . . the contention that Congress has the power to compel testimony by the enactment of an immunity statute which provides an immunity co-extensive with privilege against self-incrimination."

Defendant in the case is William Ludwig Ullmann, a government employe during New Deal days and a former Air Force major, who was accused by informer Elizabeth Bentley of being a member of a war-time "spy-ring." Ullmann repeatedly denied such charges in 1947 and 1948, but in further questioning since has invoked the Fifth Amendment as protection against possible perjury charges in which his word would be weighed against that of a government informer. Ullmann was the first person to be granted "immunity" under the new law and ordered to talk. He still refused and was sentenced to six months for contempt of court but is free in $5,000 bail pending his appeal.

CONSTITUTIONAL EROSION: Strongest of the Appeals Court opinions was written by Chief Judge Charles E. Clark. He said:

> "I concur but regretfully. For the steady and now precipitate erosion of the Fifth Amendment seems to me to have gone far beyond anything within the conception of those Justices of the Supreme Court who by the narrowest of margins first gave support to the trend in the Eighteen Nineties.
>
> "Serious commentators have found this new statute peculiarly disturbing in policy and law. It undermines and so far forth nullifies one of the basic differences between our justice and that of systems we condemn, namely the principle that the individual shall not be forced to condemn himself.
>
> "Practically, we know, no formal immunity can protect a minority deviator from society's dooms when he departs from its norms. And, realistically viewed, there is much in the defendant's contention that at the end of the road is a charge of perjury supported by the oath of a renegade or paid informer.
>
> "Convictions so obtained and punishment thus decreed cannot satisfy either the needs or the ideology of a democratic country committed to respect and toleration for dissident minorities. But I see no escape from the Supreme Court decisions . . . which, while they stand, are binding on us."

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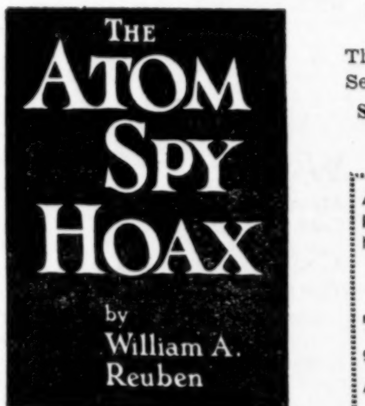

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CALENDAR

Chicago

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FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT IN TEL AVIV

Behind the Arab-Israel tension

Sen. Smith and "friend"

Sen. Margaret Chase Smith (R-Me.) last month introduced a bill to ban from the mails all foreign and domestic publications which "promote world communism." The man seen with her in this picture has written to the GUARDIAN: "Her attitude seems absolutely strange to me. It was she who, last January, solicited 'the honor of being received' and who, when I received her in my office, showed herself not only very flattered and happy but also very proud. . . . I asked her to take my message of wholehearted solidarity to my old comrade Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. . . . She could not hide her deep emotion and, in thanking me for my warm reception, promised to take the message." The office: that of the French CP organs Humanité **and** France Nouvelle. **Subject of Sen. Smith's questions and full and detailed answers: The true nature and aims of the CP. The man: Florimond Bonte, director of** France Nouvelle, **Communist member of the Chamber of Deputies.**

By Ursula Wassermann
Guardian special correspondent

TEL AVIV, ISRAEL

THE GAZA RAID of Feb. 28 was the most dramatic event, with the most casualties, in an almost daily series of incidents along Israel's frontiers which keep this part of the world bleeding as from a festering wound. In this tiny country, whose population hardly equals that of a fair-sized American city, almost everyone has a distant friend or relative who is counted among the casualties of the continuing siege.

The sorrow, anger and frustration produced by the casualty lists can easily be exploited by irresponsible politicians on either side of the border. Neither at the Security Council table, nor before the bar of public opinion, can either side appear with unsoiled hands.

Hostility toward Israel on the part of the present Arab rulers, whose countries seethe with discontent, is an inevitable safety-valve for them and probably the one constant factor in their policy. It is outside this circle of temporary actors on the Middle Eastern stage that Israelis, who look to the future rather than the past, must search for friends. The Israeli press and government radio too often refer to Tunisian, Moroccan or Iranian patriots as "terrorists," forgetting that less than a decade ago the Israelis of today were similarly branded by British propagandists. Yet in the long run Israel will have to come to terms with Middle Eastern realities. The colonels and the generals will have their day, but the Arab peoples will remain; and the final outcome of the popular movements throughout the Middle East is of vital importance to Jew and Arab alike.

DULLES AT WORK: Discussion as to whether Washington or Whitehall is pro-Arab or pro-Jewish prove utterly futile once it is realized that, while one or the other may favor this or that regime at any given moment, essentially the Western powers are hostile against both Jewish and Arab peoples as distinct from their temporary rulers. The West is primarily concerned with fullest possible exploitation of the area's natural and manpower resources, be they Arab or Jewish.

After John F. Dulles' visit to this part of the world in 1953, border clashes multiplied with increasing ferocity. Back in Washington, Dulles incited terrorists on either side by warning the Arab countries against "Jewish expansion" and threatening Israel with "invasion from the Arab states." Dulles had good reason for acting thus. Growing tension between Israel and the Arab states will facilitate ever greater interference in these countries' internal affairs. Chauvinistic passions can be kept at fever heat, thus maintaining the profits of U.S. arms manufacturers and at the same time diverting the attention of all the Middle East peoples from their real enemies: hunger, poverty and disease.

CALL IT "INTERNATIONAL": The governments concerned are abetting Dulles' provocation by letting themselves be provoked into terrorist acts, and by refusing direct negotiations except on unacceptable pre-conditions. This permits the Western powers to play the "honest broker" and thus directly interfere. How far plans for open intervention are advanced may be gathered from statements by Western spokesmen. Visiting MP's have long clamored for an "international" base in Israel's Negev—a cry now conveniently taken up by Egypt's Propaganda Minister, Salah Salem, as his country's bid for co-operation with the West. Blackmail is a fine art, at which the Arab rulers are more expert than Israel's statesmen—and they have more to offer in terms of oil and cannon-fodder.

Adlai Stevenson, on a visit here in 1953, revealed detailed plans on how to convert the entire country into a strategic base against the Soviet Union; and on Oct. 21, 1953, Gen. Bennike—then head of UN services in the Middle East—proposed "international armies" for guard duty along the Israel-Arab borders. Just how "international" these armies were to be, became clear when he added that the U.S., Britain and France were prepared to furnish units.

ACTION AND REACTION: In the wake of World War II, the Western powers had suffered defeat after defeat in the Arab world. The historical trend pointed toward reform, nationalization and independence. Egypt demanded evacuation of Suez; Tunisia and Morocco pleaded for self-government; Syria and Lebanon gained national independence; Iran nationalized its vast oil resources; and with the formation of the Arab-Asian bloc in UN, even reactionary rulers were forced to pay lip-service to their peoples' natural aspirations.

The counter-offensive began with Gen. Naguib's coup in Egypt and the overthrow of the Mossadegh regime in Iran. These were followed by the Turkey-Pakistan alliance and the more recent Turkey-Iraq pact, to which Iran is expected to adhere now that its natural resources have once more been divided among the Western oil monopolies. At the same time, Israel—despite all UN representative Abba Eban's pleadings—is purposely excluded from the system of military alliances, partly so as not to offend the Arab rulers, partly because Washington feels Israel can be had for the asking.

THE MARIONETTES: Kept at a high pitch, Israel-Arab tension in itself affords a pretext for full-scale intervention at any time when that seems strategically desirable. Thus nation will be played against nation until such time as the peoples of Israel and the Arab countries learn their bitter lesson: that for decades their blood and tears have been shed in a struggle in which they were but puppets manipulated from far away. Today, Uncle Sam has replaced John Bull as the world's chief puppeteer, but the tune to which the puppets dance is the same.

Once the marionettes snap their strings, there will be direct negotiations between Israel and the Arab countries without pre-conditions on either side, and not in the interest of third parties but of the peoples themselves. Such negotiations must lead to the solution of outstanding questions, because economically the Middle East is a unit and Israel needs the Arabs as much as the Arabs may benefit from Israel.

ROAD TO PEACE & BREAD: Today the Arab rulers denounce Israel as an interloper, a stranger to the Middle East; when Israel spokesmen insist that their country is the "outpost of Western civilization" in the Middle East, they only strengthen this demagogic argument. But instead of importing foodstuffs from the U.S. and Canada, Israel will one day obtain them from neighboring Syria and Lebanon, while Iraq and Egypt might well enjoy the fruits of Israel's new consumer industries at less cost and in more plentiful supply than they can now obtain in a dollar or sterling market.

Jews and Arabs alike need not arms but peace and bread and land reform, and the fullest possible utilization of their natural resources. The peoples will explore this immense area of common interest once their governments become free agents of free nations. When that day comes Israel, too, will no longer merely be in—but of and with—the Middle East.

A people's church in Providence, R. I.

"RELIGION and a People's World," a discussion by the Rev. Philip Oliver at 8 p.m., Wed., April 20, will open the new Peoples Church of Providence, R. I., 840 Westminster St.

The People's Church, long-time dream of its young minister, announces its aim as an "inter-racial, progressive, humanist fellowship dedicated to the correction and elimination of the evils of racism, anti-Semitism and oppression . . . and identified with the working class of all races and religious beliefs."

Oliver, who has served churches in Barre, Vt., Joliet, Ill., and Indianapolis, Ind., lost them because of his views on politics and religion, according to a release from the Peoples Church. Meetings will be every Wednesday night.

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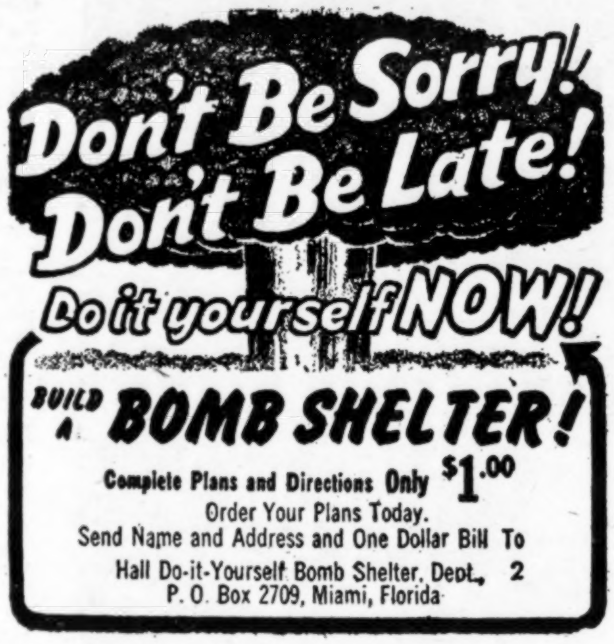
CIVIL DEFENSE IN AN H-BOMB RAID

'Dig, die or get out,' they say, or maybe decide to co-exist

By Elmer Bendiner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AD IN BALTIMORE SUN, MARCH 6, 1955
Sew yourself a straitjacket next

FEDERAL Defense Administrator Val Peterson, in an interview with **U. S. News** (4/8), sketched a nightmare vision of one atomic raid on "30 or 40 or 50 American cities." It would, he said, destroy all the nation's port facilities, leading rail terminals, banking centers, food warehouses, petroleum concentration centers. "The great steel mills would be crippled. The airplane factories would go. Just let your imagination run a little bit, you see. . . ."

U. S. News asked: "Won't lots of people think the price of devastation and destruction as you paint it, too high? Lots of people believe in peace at any price anyhow." Said Peterson: "I just can't accept that. I personally don't believe in peace at any price."

After listening to an equally scary briefing by Peterson on an H-bomb's fall-out, a reporter commented: "The best way to handle this is to be dead."

"DIG, DIE OR GIT": Faced with the possibility that such disclosures might frighten people into a peace mood, if not a peace movement, the tone of CD officials has changed. They have dropped as obsolete the tin-helmeted sky-watchers and men with lanterns shepherding people to shelters. Anyone still around when the hell-bomb carrier comes into view is not likely to be for long, and no shelter that is not made of concrete, reinforced with steel and covered by three feet of dirt, offers safety within 15 miles.

CD's new slogan is "Dig, die or get out." In large, thoroughly paved cities, with a minimum of back yards, it is not feasible to dig. How to get out is the CD problem. Putting a brave face on it, Peterson, writing in the Sunday supplement **Parade** (3/27), drew this picture:

"Mother is listening to a disk-jockey program on the radio. Suddenly a voice cuts across the music. Attack warning. . . . This city is to be evacuated immediately."

COMFORT FOR MOTHER: The radio then goes dead but mother switches on a battery set kept handy for such emergencies, turns to CD's "Conelrad" frequencies, and is told to get in her car and follow air raid wardens' directions. CD officials blow whistles in the streets. In her car, which she providently left gassed up and handily parked as per CD instructions, she picks up fellow-refugees and tunes in on the President. "It comforts her," says Mr. Peterson.

The children have been evacuated from their schools and sent to safety in one direction; father has gone off to another shelter. "The sorting out will have to come later."

Peterson gives the city six hours, though CD authorities in New York say two hours is all anybody can hope for. A six-hour warning would require the sirens to wail in New York while the supposed bomber—whose actual mission can only be guessed—was still far across the Atlantic.

THE EXODUS: While tactfully avoiding blunt references to death in his Sunday-supplement story, Peterson predicts "the sternest possible crises Americans will probably ever face" but adds that "as a result of even greater developments . . . America will emerge as a victorious, continuing nation."

Those "greater developments" are relied upon to make any future war go one round and no more. If it lasts longer, all calculations are off. For example, Peterson hopes to have 92 cities geared for mass evacuation when the radar screen sounds the alert.

Each city would have to be evacuated every time the alert was sounded, although only one might be the target or perhaps a jittery radar expert on a long watch might misread the screen altogether. All 92 cities would have to be emptied, false alarm or not.

STUDY SHERMAN: **U. S. News** asked Peterson: "Suppose you have to evacuate them every week?" Peterson explained: "I don't think that's too likely because our retaliatory force will be in action. I believe that Russia will have so much business at home trying to clean up after the attack that, while there may be some other attacks, they won't be of the same force, and there may not be any of them following the first attack."

On that theory CD has made evacuation studies for assorted cities, and on June 15 plans an exercise to clear out 51. Peterson reached far back for a precedent: "Atlanta was the first city in the U. S. to evacuate. They evacuated toward the end of the Civil War at the request of Gen. Sherman. Some 10,000 people moved out of there. So, there's been an evacuation."

With the slim experience of Sherman's "march from Atlanta to the sea" CD officials are still groping for evacuation techniques. New York will probably have to wait for its big rush-hour plans. Peterson said: "We have not tackled New York because New York would probably be the toughest place in the world."

BAD FOR BUSINESS: New York CD officials are "preparing to make a study" of sheltering arrangements for as many of the area's 15 millions as could find their way north of Hastings or west of Millburn, N. J. (see GUARDIAN, 4/4). CD would have to accumulate food and medicines, store them, set up emergency housing, arrange to have doctors, firemen and cops on hand.

While this planning, drilling and surveying is going on CD is faced with a monumental propaganda assignment comparable to shouting "fire" in a crowded theater and making it sound reassuring.

There is fear that business might suffer from H-bomb preparations. Testifying before the Senate Armed Services Committee, Peterson said he knew of one city where because of peculiar weather conditions radioactive fall-out "would go straight up, remain stationary for a while, and then come right back down again. . . . I won't mention the name of the city because it might interfere with the sale of certain commodities down in that area.'

AMA BRINGS HOPE: The greatest effort so far to sell atomic warfare to Americans was the TV "March of Medicine" show, sponsored by Smith, Kline & French Laboratories and the American Medical Assn. over NBC's network March 29. "Ten Years After Hiroshima" it showed a "new day rising from atomic ashes" in the form of a busy, modern city built on the site of the one the U. S. destroyed in 1945. The narrator summed up:

"The recovery of Hiroshima should bring courage and hope to a nervous world."

United States doctors studying the bomb's effects reported only "some infertility," a "slight reduction in male births," a "minor" increase in cataracts. "A few stunted babies" were counted. No Japanese doctor reported.

6 minutes to scram

In a CBC broadcast last month Prof. Phelps of the Univ. of British Columbia called the idea of civil defense "nonsense." The university's Physics Dept. head, Dr. G. M. Shrum, said recently that peacetime CD tests are useless: CD "doesn't apply to an H-bomb war." Phelps pointed out that since an H-bomb might be delivered by guided missile, the longest advance warning of which would be six minutes, neither city nor country could escape. "How is it that we do not comprehend this?" he asked. Next question?

SKEPTICAL JAPANESE: Last Dec. 6 the GUARDIAN cited a report from a Japanese midwives' conference summing up Hiroshima's sister-victim, Nagasaki, ten years after. Here are some of the figures: 500 children stillborn; of the 30,000 born alive in the last ten years, one out of seven has some physical deformity; 1,046 "with degenerated bone structure or nervous system or with muscular or skin defects"; 429 with deformities of smell or hearing organs, 243 of the internal organs; 72 with undeveloped brains; eight "without eyes or eye sockets."

Unreassured, some 23 million Japanese have signed petitions to ban atomic weapons. The "Natl. Council Against A- and H-Bombs" on Mar. 3 launched a campaign to raise that to 40 million, scheduled an "Intl. Conference for Prohibition of A- and H-Bombs" in Hiroshima Aug. 6.

In the U. S., Joseph and Stewart Alsop (**Sat. Eve. Post**, 3/26) concluded: "With the future of mankind quite conceivably at stake . . . 'peaceful co-existence' is not an absolutely contemptible idea. . . ."

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PROTEST MEETING: Leslie Hill "atheism" case. Speaker: William Kunstler. Fri., April 15, 8 p.m., at True Sisters, 150 W. 85th St., Contribution: $1.

FDR MEMORIAL. Speaker: John Darr, former secretary International Peace Movement, "War or Peace: Current Trends." 7th AD Club, ALP, 2688 B'way (103d St.) Sun., Apr. 24, 8:30 p.m. Contr. 50c.

SUNDAY FORUM: **WHAT MATUSOW MEANS.** A Round-table Symposium on the Whys and Wherefores of the Informer Racket, with Simon W. Gerson, Carl Marzani and Harry Sacher. Jefferson School, 575 6th Av., April 17, 8 p.m. $1.

All invited to hear **MORRIS U. SCHAPPES** speak on "Jews in the Fight for American Democracy — 1654-1954." Fri., April 22, 8 p.m., 13 A.D., ALP, 3410 B'way (138th St.) Rm. 201. Subscription: 50c.

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The man is frank

NEWARK, Mar. 29, (AP) — Rabbi Joachim Prinz, of the Temple B'nai Abraham here . . . is suing Conde McGinley, editor of the publication Common Sense, for $250,000 . . . in connection with a 1952 article which appeared in the publication. The article . . . referred to him as a Red rabbi . . . [and] was written by William J. O'Brien.

. . . Under questioning by Rabbi Prinz's attorney, O'Brien said he considered any one who opposed Hitler to be a Communist.

—Bergen (N. J.) Evening Record.

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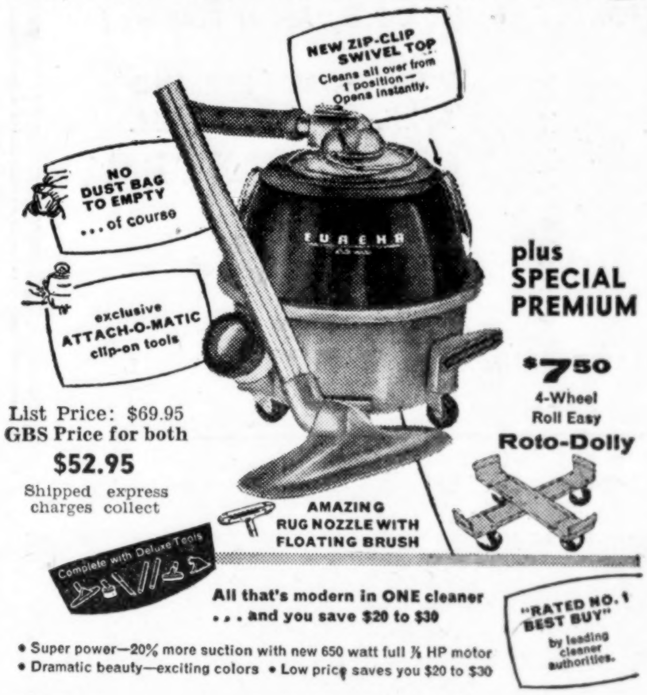

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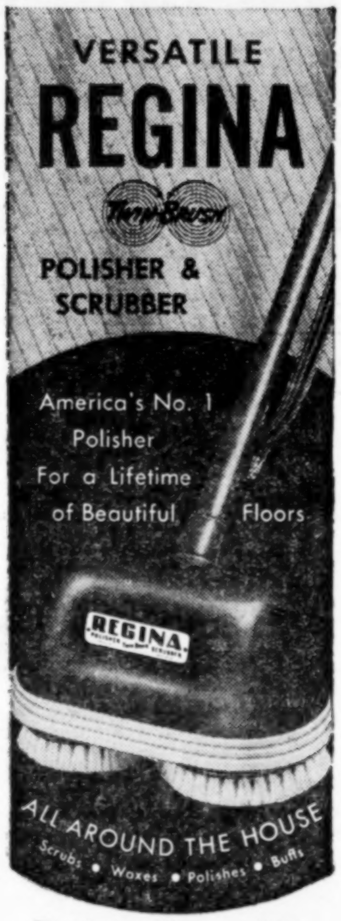

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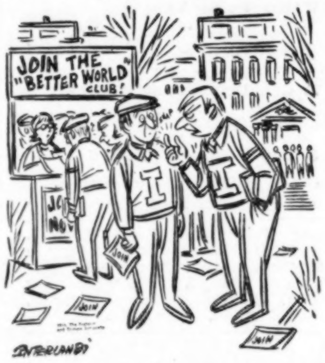
the SPECTATOR

Signpost for a poet

AT a crossroads in China there stands a stone statue marking the grave of a stoolpigeon who perished over 1,000 years ago. The people have never forgotten him. They still stop on the busy highway to urinate solemnly on the traitor's grave.

Americans haven't such pious feeling for their own past. Too many believe with the shrimp-minded Henry Ford that "history is bunk." But man's dignity is contained in the story of his rise from the primeval slime. Think of it: through eons of blind struggle, experiment, defeat and hope, the brain of the amoeba developed into the brain of Shakespeare, an Einstein, a Marx. Man's history is the poem of poems! It is also a weapon for man's liberation!

We Americans slaughter millions of turkeys in memory of the pilgrims, take a day off for Washington, the Declaration of Independence, the war dead and—some of us—for Columbus and Lincoln. What respect we show for the giants of our democracy is shallow. Many books are being written about Lincoln; it has become almost a cult and a career for dilettantes. What effect has his long preoccupation with Lincoln had on Carl Sandburg, for instance? He should have uttered at least five little earnest words against creeping fascism. But the poet is, like too many other of our leading writers, non-neutral in the fight. Lincoln was not such a neutral.



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"Let me give you a tip, Buddy. Don't join any organizations while on the campus. Ten years from now somebody calls it subversive, and WHAM. You're out of a job, just like that. . . ."

HISTORY ALL AROUND: I wish Americans had as keen a love of our own history as the French have of theirs. History is all around you in Paris. Many streets and squares are named after Napoleon, his marshalls, battles and victories. The great revolution is immortalized in many street names such as the Bastille, Place de la République, the Nation. Revolutionary leaders like Danton, Robespierre, Diderot, Saint Just have their streets.

It is thrilling to ride in the Paris subway and pass stations named after Anatole France, Voltaire, Zola, the Bastille—and Stalingrad. There are squares named for Stalingrad in hundreds of cities and towns. The liberation of France brought in a crop of new historic names. In almost every town and village in the south are squares named after Gabriel Péri, foreign editor of the Communist daily **Humanité**, whom the Nazis murdered. Paris has named streets for Henri Barbusse, Paul Vaillant-Couturier, Guy Moquet and other Communists, and all through France are Jean-Jaures avenues in memory of the great Socialist tribune assassinated for pacifism on the eve of World War I. Cultural heroes like Pasteur, Daumier, Dante, Réaumur, Balzac, Gorky, Dickens, have their streets in Paris.

"A MINOR AFFAIR": This year is the 100th anniversary of the publication of **Leaves of Grass**; but in America our national bard Walt Whitman still hasn't a single street or park. Not even in New York, his populous home that he wrote of so tenderly and often. Years ago I started a one-man campaign to have a street or park named for Whitman. I agitated several progressive Councilmen, but even they seemed to think it a minor affair.

I still believe it isn't minor to respect our own democratic history, to keep it alive in every street and park and subway.

—Michael Gold

THURGOOD MARSHALL SUGGESTED

ALP urges a Negro to fill N. Y. Supreme Court vacancy

THE American Labor Party took up once again last week the campaign—in which it has for years been a leading force—for the election or appointment of Negroes to legislative and judicial posts in state and city governments. The new activity is sparked by the impending appointment by Gov. Harriman of a judge to fill the vacancy on the N. Y. Supreme Court caused by the death of Judge Corcoran.

The GUARDIAN urges all New York readers to take action on the ALP's call for wires or letters to Harriman in Albany, urging him to appoint a Negro to the court. Such action is especially appropriate at a time when the distinguished counsel for the NAACP, Thurgood Marshall—a New Yorker—is heading the legal battalion arguing before the U. S. Supreme Court for rapid implementation of the high court's decision on school de-segregation. Marshall is one of a number of New York Negro lawyers who are eminently fitted to fill the state Supreme Court vacancy.

HELP WANTED

Woman for housekeeping and supervise 2 boys in motherless L. I. home. No heavy cleaning or laundry. Pleasant house, own room, good salary. Write Box 2, 17 Murray St., N. Y. 7, state experience and background.